UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

American Notes—A Sunday in New York

By SYDNEY STRONG

The Fascination of Mountains

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Tariff Swindle

By FRANK W. GARRISON

Prison Life in Hungary

By FREDERICK HANKINSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CV MONDAY, JULY 7, 1930 NUMBER 19

HUMANISM

All things are human to the core;
And earth and air and sea and sky,
And He that lives forevermore,
Are of such stuff as you and I.

Thou hast the secret in thy heart
Of star and planet, moon and sun;
And seeing darkly what thou art,
Thou seest the Eternal One.

Of yonder spheres thou art the cause;
Of yonder dark thou art the day;
And He that wills the eternal laws
Is one with him that would obey.

Then worship not the gods of might,
That pedants preach or sirens sing.
The lowly voice of truth and right,
Within thyself, O man, is king.

Forever shall the word prevail
O'er bars of iron and gates of brass;
And never shall the onset fail,
Till all thy dreams shall come to pass.

Thine is the earthquake and the fire;
And on the whirlwind shalt thou ride
To yonder port of heart's desire,
Where love awaits thee as a bride.

FRANKLIN KENT GIFFORD.

It has become the established practise of American magazines to cut down their out-put during the summer months. Some magazines, like the *World Tomorrow,* reduce the number of pages per issue from 48 to 32; others, like the *Survey,* reduce the number of issues; others, like the *Standard,* suspend publication altogether during the vacation period. UNITY has in recent years adopted the second course, and will this year continue to do so. Announcement is therefore made that the next issue of UNITY will appear on July 21st, and that other issues will follow at bi-weekly intervals until the end of September. Regular weekly publication will be resumed on October 6th.

The early and enthusiastic adoption of the London Naval Treaty, accomplished or in prospect when this editorial is printed, is due exclusively to the vigorous leadership of the administration. Would that we had had the same kind of leadership on other matters—the tariff bill, for example! But in this case the President and his advisors have acted, as we have already pointed out in this place, with initiative, courage, and promptitude. Mr. Hoover's immediate announcement, for example, that he would call an extra session of the Senate, if the Treaty were not adopted at the regular session, stamped the life out of all dangerous opposition to the measure. Secretary Stimson's radio talk, one of the ablest and bravest official utterances in our time, set the admiralty rats skeedaddling like light in their dark and smelly holes. The squeaks of these gold-braided rodents that followed upon the Secretary's speech were one of the funniest things that have happened in a long time. Seriously, also, this speech showed what can be done by straight-speaking and hard-hitting. These naval men had it in their power to make all kinds of trouble for the administration. But one good word of truth scattered them like dust before dynamite. It is our hope that these recent events augur a change in the general policy of Mr. Hoover. The "hands-off" idea has lasted all too long. If the President has suffered a loss of prestige in recent months almost unprecedented in our recent history, it is for no other reason than that he has shown none of that capacity for strong, independent, creative leadership which the people have a right to expect from a man of such capacity and reputation. It was all right for Mr. Coolidge to leave well enough alone. But not Herbert Hoover! The President has done splendidly with the London Naval Treaty. Now let him continue as splendidly with the new World Court agreement! Let's have some fight on this issue as on the other. The people are ready to respond, Mr. President. They will back you up on anything that strengthens the foundations of durable peace. But they cannot act alone. They must have a summons to answer, a standard to rally to, a leader to follow. Mr. President, give us the word!

On second thought, we feel moved to withdraw our statement in the above paragraph that Mr. Hoover has suffered a loss of prestige "for no other reason" than that he has failed to function effectively as a national leader. This is one reason, unquestionably—but there are others! For one of these others at least, the President is not himself responsible. We refer to the business depression, now some seven or

eight months old and still increasing, which is afflicting this administration as by a curse from heaven. Mr. Hoover, of course, has had nothing to do with this phenomenon, which incidentally is world-wide. On the contrary, it is to his credit that he has tried to use the instruments of government to restore prosperity. But Americans have long been taught to credit everything to the government, and this foolish teaching has come directly from our Republican politicians. No claim is more familiar than that a Republican administration means good times, unless it be the assertion that a Democratic administration means bad times. There is a direct connection, in other words, according to Republican theory, between economic conditions and political status. But now the traditional formula is refusing to work in the usual way. *Mirabile dictu,* bad times have come in a Republican regime! And the people, well taught to trace their troubles to the White House, are now blaming Mr. Hoover for their distress just as though he were a Democrat like Grover Cleveland. Of course, this is silly. But who is to blame but the Republicans themselves who have taught the voters, lo, these many years, to think in just this way? What has happened is, the Republican chickens have at last come home to roost. This is hard on Herbert Hoover. Yet we seem to recall that, during the campaign, Mr. Hoover himself had not a little to say about "Republican prosperity." Perhaps there is some justice in his present predicament after all.

We said nothing in these columns when the first part of the Simon Report on India was published. There seemed little to say. It seemed to us to be a most successful attempt to magnify unduly the unquestioned difficulties in the Indian problem, but a poor promise of any solution of that problem. Now the second part of the Report has been published, and we find our reaction abundantly and tragically confirmed. The situation in India having been inexplicably allowed to drift into the present impasse, it is doubtful if any report which Englishmen would sign could have brought any help or healing. But it is not at all doubtful—on the contrary, it is certain—that this Simon Report will accomplish nothing. A disappointment to right-minded Englishmen, an insult to India, a shock to the world, it has come into the world still-born. We write on the very morning of the appearance of this second part of the Report, and thus have seen no comments. But we venture to prophesy that, before this editorial is printed, the Report will have disappeared in the turmoil of events in India. Certainly our English brethren are naive if they think that there can be any October round-table discussion of what Sir John Simon and his colleagues have timidly proposed. What is there for Indians to discuss? This Report has not yet caught up to dominion status, while India is sweeping on to out-and-out independence! What a farce—and what a tragedy! Yet this outcome was really doomed from the very beginning, when Indians themselves were refused a place upon the Commission. The boycotting of the Commission in India—much more successful than the world has ever been allowed to know—was the prophecy of its abortive work. Alas for MacDonald, who looked to this Report for a justification of his policy in recent months. Now comes the collapse, with nothing before us, apparently, but bloodshed, torment and tyranny.

We found it a shocking thing the other day when men like Senator Walsh and Senator Dill declared that, if public sentiment in their respective states changed from "dry" to "wet," they would change too, and vote against the 18th Amendment. We feel the same sense of shock at Mrs. Ruth McCormick's proposal of a referendum in Illinois to guide her voting in the Senate on the liquor issue. And this sense of shock, we hasten to add, has nothing to do with our convictions upon Prohibition. Rather does it have to do, and emphatically to do, with our convictions upon representative government. We have a representative democracy in this country. What does this mean? That the men we send to House and Senate in Washington shall represent us in the sense that they will put their own ideas and convictions on every question of public policy quietly in their pockets and vote only as we say? That whenever there comes a shift in public sentiment on any question, these representatives and senators shall repudiate the record of a life-time, and vote for what they think is wrong and against what they think is right, just because the folks back home have got a new idea? That, to be specific, whenever the people get bitten by the war-craze and clamor for the blood of the enemy, their Congressmen, elected perhaps on peace platforms, shall straightway themselves go crazy, and vote for war? Is this representative democracy? If so, why go to the expense and trouble of having men in Washington? Why not buy a few rubber-stamps? Why not arrange a mechanical bell or light system between the Capitol and all the various voting-booths throughout the land? No! So long as men are *men* and not machines, we believe representative democracy means the choice of men to represent the people on the basis not of gusts of popular passion, nor even of orders by referendum, but of their own sincere convictions of truth and right. Representatives are chosen, in theory at least, on their character and intelligence as public leaders. When they go to Washington, let them use their intelligence and live up to their character. Above all, let them be true to themselves! Then, if the people do not like it, they can always recall them at the next election. Ultimate power is vested in the people. That's enough!

The tenth annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union shows that conditions of freedom in this country have not improved during the last twelve months. On the contrary, they have tended to become worse. Repressive measures against Communists and other radicals have been increased by the enactment of a large number of new laws. Violations of Negro rights continue unabated, and in recent months have been accompanied by a revival of the most ferocious aspects of lynching. "Religious and racial intolerance," says the report, "is firmly entrenched." Say what you will, we Americans are a bigoted people! On the other hand are features of the situation which are encouraging. Public opinion is unquestionably more alert than ever before. More newspapers are daring to speak out against repressive tactics and intolerant ideas. The Civil Liberties Union is itself an admirable barometer in this field, and its report shows "increased support." Other defense organizations are also described as "on the whole stronger." What is seen in this report is what has been seen in earlier reports—namely, the abiding truth that eternal vigilance is the price not merely of safety but also of liberty. They only are free who dare to fight for freedom! In this eternal watch and ward of civil rights in the United States, the American Civil Liberties Union stands foremost among all organizations within the land. It is amazing to note the wide area of its activities as revealed, for example, in the respective headings of this tenth annual report. Here is concise information about "political prisoners," "the struggle in North Carolina," "lawless Pennsylvania," "the police and the 'Reds'," "injunctions against labor," "aliens' rights," "intolerance in schools and colleges," "censorship," "Haiti," "Fascist propaganda in the U. S.," "professional patriots." The fight for civil liberties in this country is a battle on many fronts. If we still have liberties in America, it is because this battle is fought ceaselessly by clear minds and valiant hearts.

It is not surprising that the recent action of a distinguished rector of the Episcopal church in New York in resigning his pulpit and joining the Catholics, has caused considerable of a sensation. There is a certain logic in what this man has done which is embarrassing, to say the least. For he declares that he has come to believe that the Catholics have the right of it in the matter of apostolic succession, and of course he is correct. Once granted that the apostolic succession is the vital test of the true church of Christ, and granted also that the apostolic succession is an historic fact and not a myth, and the claim of the Roman church is undeniable. The Episcopal, or Anglican, church is a mere imitation of the real thing. We agree with the New York rector that if one desires to enter the true succession, and really thinks that this succession has been maintained since the days of the apostles and is of any spiritual importance in itself, the thing to do is to become a Roman Catholic. But there are many of us to whom this whole apostolic succession matter seems rather silly. How can any one prove that the line of descent is unbroken? And even if he can—what of it? Will any one seriously contend today that the true priesthood of any church has a monopoly of the holy spirit? Is the love of Christ confined to any such narrow channel as that maintained by the laying on of hands in any one ecclesiastical order of succession? Has the magic touch saved all receiving it from stupidity, folly, corruption and sin? Or have those denied it been likewise denied the gift of spiritual power? The ultimate test of a man, and of a church, is the work done, not the blessing received. Jesus himself defined the real issue, when he said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Those only the ministers of Christ who have descended direct from Peter? Why, the truest "Christian" in this world today is a man who is not even a Christian at all—Mahatma Gandhi!

American Notes

A Sunday in New York

Sunday in June is a good day to spend in New York. A breeze is stirring coming off the Bay and rivers up the canyons. The people have gone, the streets are quiet and empty, and such a variety of sky-lines!

We were drawn this morning to go to church in Brooklyn, at the "Church of the Saviour," where Dr. John H. Lathrop is the senior member of the firm of ministers. Rev. Richard W. F. Seebode, the junior member, had charge of the service. This is one of those Congregational churches that never ought to have been allowed to go off into the Unitarian fold, about a hundred years ago. All of them at that time ought to have known better. It might be a good thing now and then to recall the "sins of the fathers." When that split—that resulted in Unitarianism—was made from Plymouth and Boston to New York and beyond—it was bad business all round. And, the blame—O well, who was to blame for the war?

This Brooklyn church retained the old orthodox name, and its motto is, as printed across the top of the bulletin, "I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One, thy Saviour." There was a good summer congregation. The sermon was a good one. Mr. Seebode had only last week received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, from Meadville Theological School. Before

his address, he reminded the people that this was the 815th anniversary of Magna Charta, of which we are being reminded these days so that we shall not forget that we are cousins to the English, who played that great act for freedom. Mr. Seebode discussed the question, "Can We Teach Religion?" His reply was that if we look upon religion as a revelation, it cannot be taught. If it is regarded as an education, an experience, it can be taught. The religion of experience is essential to help men to keep from injuring each other. It can be taught by example, by doing the word. The congregational singing was good. The pastor chose singable hymns, "The Voice of God Is Calling" and "Marching with the Heroes." It was interesting to be told that the beautiful flowers for ornamentation that day were the gift of the Cooking School. About thirty of the congregation gathered after church, at "Joe's Restaurant" for luncheon—the usual custom, a good one.

That printed sermon of Dr. Lathrop's, the "Meaning of a Great World," mentioned recently in UNITY, has been called for by at least twenty-five people. And there will be others calling from the ends of the earth.

During the summer vacation, which begins Sunday, June 22, seven churches of Brooklyn will unite in Beecher's old church, Plymouth, for one union morning service. The calendar of the Church of the Saviour listed the churches uniting:

The First Methodist Episcopal Church
The Church of the Pilgrims
The First Presbyterian Church
Plymouth Church
The Reformed Church of the Heights
The Church of the Saviour
The Church of the Neighbor.

So, for thirteen Sundays—a quarter of a year—these congregations will be as one body! And these Churches are seven! Our thought turns to the seven churches of Asia! We beg leave to suggest that next year—or even this year—they use for the seven sermons, the seven addresses to the seven churches of Asia. Nothing invidious, for I do not know how they fit, in the order of the churches, as printed on the calendar.

Sunday evening—a rare evening—I strolled from 34th Street down to Madison Square, Union Square, then on to Washington Square. While the latter was filled with youth, as well as adults, the first two Squares had next to no children playing about. In Union Square there were few adults even. A small company was drawn by an excellent Salvation Army band. This was a string band, made up of about fifty young men, who this week, having studied for a year in New York, would be scattered over the country, to take positions as commisioned leaders. They were nice looking fellows, clean, well-dressed and good musicians. It was their last time together. They were going out as far as the "wilds of Ohio" as one said. We sent word—after giving a contribution on the drum big enough to give a right to speak—to the young man to refer to Ohio next time as "the Mother of Presidents." I have only well wishes for the Salvation Army. They may get mixed on theology, but there is an air of hope and optimism and a spirit of music in them that give courage to those who may touch them only on the wings of music. As the words "Praise the Lord" and "I've found a Friend" and "Fellowship Divine" rolled up the streets in many directions, buttressed by the big horns and bigger drum, and as they marched away, inviting "everybody to come to the meeting"—it all seemed rather wholesome. Our memory went back to the days, when in London we heard crowds shouting for General Booth and Captain Jesus, and standing persecution—we have still a warm place in our heart for those who have been persecuted for righteousness sake. And, tomorrow, Miss Evangeline Booth dedicates in New York a $500,000 "home" for three hundred and twenty-five business girls. This is the thirteenth of the kind, and a fourteenth will soon be opened in Oakland.

In walking back from 10th to 31st to our hotel, we were reimpressed by the acres of empty and unutilized sidewalks. It is getting on nerves and conscience. Literally miles of vacant places that might be turned into places of play. We grow discouraged sometimes over the lack of imagination of the people. On either side of Fifth Avenue from 31st Street for three miles to the South—toward the Battery—are tens of thousands of children, in cramped quarters, while in this same district, but a short walk away are these smooth, beautiful, wide sidewalks, which could be utilized easily for all kinds of games. Also, the east and west streets, on Sundays, with nice smooth paving are next to being empty.

Why the play-ground people haven't seen these "acres of diamonds" is more than we can understand. We have been strolling for hours on the "East" and "West" sides. We are looking for a book that will give side-walk games; have not found it yet. However, the children are wonderfully ingenious in the utilization of the walks in front of their own doors. It seems never to have entered their heads to overflow—at least Saturday afternoons and Sundays—to the acres of sidewalks that yawn to be used. No doubt, they have never been invited. They are invited, and rightly, to the acres of Central Park and other parks; but not to the acres of sidewalks near them—which are periodically deserted. And, these sidewalks, with just a bit of invention and good will might be the scene of thousands of children "playing in the streets."

SYDNEY STRONG.

Parables of War and Peace

XV

Your Money or Your Life

A Drama in Two Scenes

Place—The National Assize.
Time—In War-Time.
Characters—The State.
First Citizen.
Second Citizen.

Scene I

The State—You are a citizen of this country.

First Citizen—I am.

The S.—You know that we are at war.

F. C.—I do.

The S.—War demands sacrifice. What have you to give?

F. C.—I don't know.

The S.—Don't know? Well, let's see. Have you property?

F. C.—None.

The S.—Have you money?

F. C.—On the contrary, I am in debt.

The S.—Have you capital—anything in which you have invested money?

F. C.—No!—that is—I have a son. I don't know whether you would call him "capital" exactly, but I've invested money in him. He's all I've ever had. I made up my mind, as soon as he came, that every cent of the little money that I should ever be able to earn, would go into that boy. So I've raked and scraped and run into debt. And now he's educated, and at work. And I'm proud of him, God bless him! But, of course, that doesn't interest you, if it's "capital" . . .

The S.—Interest *me*? A son—a young man? In war time? Well, I guess that's the finest kind of "capital" for my purposes. Hand him over.

F. C.—Hand him over? What do you mean?

The S.—Mean? What I say! Boys—that's what I want more than money. How can you fight battles without an army, and how can you have an army without boys? How old is he—your boy?

F. C.—Twenty.

The S.—Fine! Just the age! Send him tomorrow, nine o'clock, to headquarters.

F. C.—Just a minute, please! This boy of mine—he lives with us, you know. He helps keep the home. We love him—

The S.—Love him! Huh! Don't you love your country? I'm fighting a war and need every mother's son I can lay my hands on.

F. C.—Mother's son! That's just it—I don't think his mother could stand losing our boy. It would kill her. He's all we've got, you know.

The S.—Well, he's all I've got, too, isn't he? He and the other boys that have got to get into the trenches! Nothing counts now but country, understand? So hand that boy over, and be quick about it. Headquarters, tomorrow, nine o'clock. Here's a receipt in full. If he's wounded, I'll take care of him. If he's killed, I'll bury him, and call him a hero. Good day!

Scene II

The State—Ah, good morning, my dear sir!

Second Citizen—Good morning! Pray be seated. Sorry to hear about this war business.

The S.—Yes, I'm a good deal disturbed about it.

S. C.—Means a lot of work—raising the army—!

The S.—O, that's no trouble. Plenty of boys around. Just pick 'em up and fire 'em in. And there's lot's more where they come from. Raising the army? —that's a cinch. It's money I'm worrying about.

S. C.—H'm'm'm!

(Silence.)

The S.—(continuing)—I thought—

S. C.—Thought you'd better come round and see me about it, eh?

The S.—That's right. To be candid, I don't know any way to get money except to beg for it.

S. C.—Ha, Ha, Beg for it. Yes, and—pay for it, eh!—Pay for it! Well, let's see what we can do. How much do you want?

The S.—Millions—billions, in all! And from you? —as many hundred thousands as you can spare.

S. C.—All right! I'll give you two hundred thousand dollars, for twenty years, at five per cent.

The S.—Five per cent? O, you can't charge that much. Where's your patriotism, man—Your country—

S. C.—Country? Patriotism? What are you talking about? This is business, this is! If you want money, for war or anything else, you've got to pay for it, haven't you? As it is, I'm giving you the money at five per cent. Why, I can get seven per cent anywhere. Eight per cent! I'm getting eight per cent on some of my securities that I'd have to pass over to you to get this two hundred thousand we're talking about.

The S.—Five per cent is impossible. It's national bankruptcy. I can't give you so much as a fraction over four per cent.

S. C.—Then you won't get the money. Four per cent. Why, you're crazy. What do you think I am, anyhow?

The S.—I thought, perhaps, at such a time as this, that you might let us have a loan on liberal terms. I even thought you might *give* us some money.

S. C.—Not much! You're lucky to get a loan. But I'm patriotic all right. After all, there's a war on, and country calls! Let's agree at four and a half per cent for twenty years, what do you say?

The S.—Four and a half per cent on two hundred thousand for twenty years—that's one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, isn't it—and then the loan back, to boot!

S. C.—Yep! That's what loans usually do—come back—But think of what I'm doing—giving you all this money for all these years! For your own use, on your own terms! But when a war's on, we've all got to do our part! Why don't you call this a Liberty Loan, or a Victory Loan, and make it go over big? Money and lives—that's what we need to win this war, and there isn't a citizen in the country who won't give till it hurts. We're all patriots at a time like this. Or if not—stand 'em up against a wall, and pump 'em full of lead! That's what I say. Well, shall we call it agreed?

The S.—Yes—a Liberty Loan at four and a half per cent—Agreed!

S. C.—Agreed. God bless America.—Good day!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Fascination of Mountains

"O my Soul, let us go unto our hills;
We were native to them one day, you and I.
We have stayed in this market-place too long;
We have bartered with the birth-right in our breast;
We have shamed us with buffoonery and jest,
Nor raised our eyes to where our hills were strong.
O, my Soul, let us go unto our hills,
To their wonderful, high silence and their might,
Where the old dreams shall whisper us by night
Till the sullen heart within us stirs and thrills,
And wakes to weep and wonder and delight.
O my Soul, let us go unto our hills."*

Every year when summer comes, thousands of us who live in towns and cities leave our homes and our business and hurry away to the mountains. Why? Partly for coolness and purer air. Partly to get that rest and invigoration of body and mind which can come only from entire change of environment. And partly (this is often unconscious and yet very real) because the mountains fascinate us. They have a lure which we cannot resist. We simply must go to them.

And it is fortunate that we must.

Mountains fill a very great place in the world's life—much greater than we are apt to realize. They fill a place little less great in man's life, both physical and spiritual. Let us see.

Mountains are man's vast material treasure houses. Out of them come our gold and our silver; more important still, out of them come our iron and our coal. What would man do had not nature been busy in the limitless ages of the past, before he arrived upon the scene, in storing up in the mountains these priceless treasures for his use?

From the mountains come our rivers, our streams, our springs which sustain so large a part of the animal and vegetable life of the world. We speak of mountains as barren. But often when seeming to be most barren themselves, by the streams they send down, they make whole lands to bud and blossom as the rose.

Mountains not only water but actually create many of the most fertile sections of the earth. I suppose the soil of California's two greatest valleys—each as large as a vast state—has all been brought down from the Sierras and the Coast Range. The lower Mississippi valley is the gift to the world of the Rocky and Allegheny chains. We say Egypt has been created by the Nile. We mean it has been created by the soil which the Nile has brought from the mountains of Central Africa. The vast Ganges Valley in India, the home of seventy or eighty millions of human beings, is a deposit from the Himalayas. From the Himalayas came the soil, and from the Himalayas comes also the water that makes the soil productive.

Mountains are the natural home of forests. Nearly all the mountains of the world might be, and ought to be, forest-covered. Yet comparatively few now are, at least in the older lands. Their denudation not only impoverishes the world by limiting its timber supply, but checks rain-fall and renders barren vast sections of the earth which might be fertile. In the good time coming, when men get beyond the barbarian age of fighting and destroying one another and turn their attention in earnest to the task of making the world a good place to live in, the mountains will once more be planted with forests, and thus the bald old earth will become young again.

In other ways less noticeable, mountains benefit men. Since science arrived on the scene, mountains have become our great historians, such historians as nobody ever dreamed of until the past century. The historians we had before had confined themselves to the two or three last thousand years of the world's story. But the mountains come to us and open their stone books, whose leaves are rock-strata, and show us records there, authentic, not to be disputed, written by pen of earthquake and flood and fire, that take us back and back in the earth's annals ten thousand years, a hundred thousand, a million, a hundred millions, and we know not how much more.

These stone books of the mountains tell us in what periods great seas swept over regions of the world which are now far in the interior of continents; when the seas retired and vast plains appeared in their places; when, as the result of the cooling and consequent shrinking of the earth's crust, the plains were crumpled up into those furrows which we call valleys and those ridges which we call mountain chains; when volcanoes first broke forth into eruption and buried great areas beneath their burning scoria or their streams of fiery lava; when forests covered vast areas and formed the coal deposits which are now so necessary to man's life. Still more interesting, these stone histories show us man appearing on the earth, a cave-dweller; they show us earlier still the first mammals; still earlier the first appearance of animal life; farther back the first beginnings of vegetable life; oldest of all the world with no life.

I have seen men in England studying old cathedrals. This tower, they said, is Renaissance; therefore its date is the seventeenth century. This chancel is perpendicular Gothic; that means it was built somewhere between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth. This transept is the decorated style; so it is a hundred years older. This nave is early English, therefore it must go back quite another hundred years. Here are some window and door arches that are Norman. Then their date must be as early as the year 1000 or 1100. In one of the walls is some Anglo-Saxon rubble. That takes us back still further, to as early a time as the ninth or the eighth century. In the crypt is a Roman Arch. That means something as old as the sixth century, or the fifth, or possibly the fourth. In wonder we exclaim, How ancient! How very far back do these cathedrals carry us! But turn now from man's work to God's. God's cathedrals are the mountains. As in the light of geological knowledge we study their mighty foundations, walls, columns, arches, and towers, how ephemeral seem man and all man's handiwork. Compared with them Westminster and Canterbury and York and Salisbury are the products of an hour ago. Nay, compared with them, the pyramids of Egypt are the children but of yesterday.

Man's alphabets, by means of which he writes his histories, are all new. God's alphabets are old. One

*Theodosia Garrison.

of the alphabets which the Creator has employed from the beginning in recording the geologic history of the world, is fossils, especially fossils from the sea. Fossil shells are often found on the tops of high mountains. It used to be held that this fact conclusively proves a universal deluge. It is known, now, however, that these fossils prove not that the sea once rose above the mountains, but that the mountains rose up out of the sea. Quite possibly it may have been a false reading of the story of these shells that gave rise to the Genesis story of the Flood.

Mountains are interesting because of the fact that in so small a space they epitomize so much of the world. High mountains in any of the warmer latitudes present to us, as we ascend them, practically all the earth's zones and climates and all types of its vegetable and animal life. The tropics and arctic regions of the earth are separated by many thousands of miles, and the traveler who would pass from one to the other must spend weeks of time in making the long journey. But in a high mountain he may have this distance and this time practically annihilated.

In California we see the climate of Italy and the climate of Norway brought within a few miles of each other. We have mountains whose peaks are covered with perpetual ice and snow, but whose bases are fanned the year round with almost tropical airs, and girdled with groves of orange and lemon trees. In the Southern Alps one sees something like this.

Still more striking is this concentration of latitude in the case of mountains nearer the equator, like Kilimandjaro in Africa. These mountains stand with their feet amid the most burning heats, and yet their heads are crowned with eternal winter. As one ascends he passes through all zones; the tropical fades into the sub-tropical, that into the temperate, and that again into the frigid, the vegetation and the animal life changing accordingly.

Some years ago it was my privilege to make a partial ascent of the Himalayas from the plains of Hindustan. I started amid cocoa-palms, banana trees, rice fields, and a tropical vegetation as rich as there is in the world. Gradually all this disappeared, and I was surrounded by oaks and such trees as grow in central Europe. At 8,000 feet I was among pines. I did not go any farther. But on the great peaks beyond I could see the vegetation becoming entirely arctic, and then passing away; leaving on the highest altitudes nothing but rock and everlasting ice and snow. At the foot of the mountains were jungles, in which were wild elephants, and tigers. Farther up were mountain bears. Beyond that, mountain goats and a few other small animals; while to the great peaks only eagles ventured. How wonderful it is that by thus simply climbing a mountain, one may get an epitome of the world—may have all the climates and zones, all the flora and fauna of the earth brought under his view.

Modern men are developing quite a new interest in mountains. Love of mountains seems to be a new passion in the world. Up to a century and a half ago mountains occupied but a very small space in the thought of the people of Europe, or in their art and literature. In England Addison saw little that interested him in mountains. Charles Lamb declared that he would not exchange the meanest alley in London for all the so-called glories of Skiddaw or Helvellyn. Even Goldsmith could see in the Alps nothing better than a great natural bulwark that protected the Swiss against the dangers of civilization. Few painters cared for mountain scenes. Nobody thought of going to the Alps for enjoyment. Literary Englishmen and Germans making journeys to Italy would hasten past or over these wonderful mountain regions oblivious of their beauty and grandeur, and regarding them only as obstacles to travel.

What a change has taken place in the past one hundred and fifty years. Perhaps the leading force in effecting the change—in giving to Europeans and their kindred in America, the wonderful world of the mountains for delight and spiritual quickening—was Rousseau in France, followed by Goethe in Germany and Wordsworth in England. Today all cultured people in western lands admire and enjoy mountains. Mountain resorts are everywhere, and are enjoyed by rich and poor. Throughout all the summer season the Alps are regarded as the most attractive part of Europe, and are thronged with visitors as no other region is. The poet and painter have both felt deeply the spell of the mountains. Today the art and literature of both Europe and America are full of nothing more than of the aroma of mountain pines, the music of mountain waterfalls and the sublimity of mountain peaks. All this shows a vast enlargement of man's higher intellectual life since Rousseau wrote his "La Nouvelle Heloise."

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

[*To be concluded*]

The Picnic*

The hour is a November noon
And yet the summer calls,
Save that the day is done too soon
Between these canyon walls.

Full length upon the rocks and sand,
Through the half-veiling trees,
For more than mortal eyes command
I search the azure seas.

No trace of cloud is on the sky,
The winds their chambers keep,
But for the bird that flashes by
All Nature seems to sleep;

A robe of tempered sunshine drawn
Above the cradling hills,
Here where the lingering blush of dawn
Against the sunset spills.

What heart-ache in this brevity!
What protest in this peace!
So near, the nations' tragedy,
So far, the heart's release.

My comrades bid me to the board,
A moment we forget
The eyes of China's hungry horde,
Gastonia's bloody sweat.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Nov. 6, 1929

**In the Arroyo Seco, above Pasadena.*

The Tariff Swindle

There is no important question of the day on which public opinion is more unsettled than on that of tariff taxation. While the British electorate, hitherto strongly in favor of the freedom of trade which is associated with the great days of financial supremacy, seems to be slowly turning again towards the old sophistries, American public opinion shows signs of being moved from equally strong predispositions in a contrary direction.

The notable appeal of the American Economic Association to President Hoover to veto the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill is the latest indication of revolt against this time-honored method of robbing consumers for the benefit of private interests; and it is particularly striking coming as it does from a disinterested quarter, or rather from students of political economy whose object it is to discover the truth, and who are not suspected of having personal irons in the fire.

There have, however, been other significant attacks upon the traditional tariff policy in recent years, notably the so-called Bankers' Manifesto of 1926, which was addressed to Europe, though its recommendations were just as applicable to this country. That document declared that "too many States, in pursuit of false ideals of national interest, have imperilled their own welfare and lost sight of the common interests of the world by basing their commercial relations on the economic folly which treats all trading as a form of war." It recalled the patent fact that the citizens of other countries are our customers, and that consequently their prosperity is a condition of our well-being.

Another manifesto on the tariff was issued by the International Bureau of Peace in Geneva in 1928, in which it was affirmed that "economic competition between rival and conflicting financial interests has been, and still is, one of the principal causes of war." The only thing that will make the competition harmless is "the complete suppression of all customs duties and other obstacles to the free passage of both commodities and persons, as already laid down by the recent International Economic Conference at Geneva."

Although the present appeal to the President contains no such radical proposals as the foregoing, the logic of its argument points to the same conclusion. The teachers have honored themselves and their colleges by this public-spirited action in a domain where timidity has been the rule. Indeed, without qualifying one's appreciation of the service rendered, one may venture the encouraging inference that enlightenment has reached a point where public opinion is ready for a change of view. It begins to look as though the gluttony of the private tax-collectors had brought on a fatty degeneration that will, within a measurable time prove fatal to them.

It is not to be supposed that we are yet approaching the millennial stage of civilization where all that is necessary to secure the equal rights of citizens is an appeal to abstract justice. No doubt, for some time to come the law-makers will attempt to pass laws that they conceive to be favorable to themselves and their friends and masters. One cannot expect the power of the manufacturers to give way until it is confronted by a superior force. The historians tell us that the abolition of slavery was merely a happy incident in the conflict between the manufacturing and the agricultural interests. The Abolitionists furnished the high moral pretensions that appear to be as necessary to the war-makers as powder and shot. From that day to this the manufacturers have had things much their own way, but it becomes doubtful whether they will be able long to continue the tariff graft now that it conflicts with the interest of the bankers and stands in the way of a disposal of the exportable surplus of mass production.

There is no doubt that the workers of the country will benefit by an instalment of *laissez-faire,* and as the future is theirs, for good or evil, thanks to their preponderance of numbers, the Protection fetish is doomed as soon as they can be made to realize a few oft-repeated truisms that have formed the commonplaces of political economy for the last 200 years. Among these may be mentioned the fact that tariff taxes increase the price of goods and add to the cost of living; that imports cannot be blocked without blocking exports; that the sum of employment cannot be increased by restricting trade; that wages are determined by competition among laborers and not by the profits of employers; and that tariffs, like other ugly discriminations against foreigners, are a fertile source of international ill will, and cost the taxpayers another pretty penny in armaments and military tomfoolery.

It may be taken as an encouraging sign that at least one organization devoted to the interest of "Labor" figures among the petitioners for a veto of the tariff bill; for up to the present time labor leaders have proved no less grasping and short-sighted than the "capitalists" whom they copy and condemn. The workers who seek shelter behind a Protective tariff and drastic immigration restrictions, and cultivate race hatred generally, would seem to have a long way to go before they will be ready to exchange their anti-foreign mentality for a sense of universal kinship and fair play.

The protest of the professors may be taken as a rebuke to the politicians, but the fact cannot be overlooked that a veto of the great Hawley-Smoot swindle would still leave the current swindle in effect. Of course the arguments levelled at one are equally weighty in regard to the other. There is no logical stopping place short of the complete removal of the law-made barriers that hinder human beings in their dealings with one another. But even this ambitious program fails to go to the root of the matter, for trade after all is a secondary process, dependent upon production; and the most fundamentally damaging barriers of all are those which result in land monopoly.

Cobden realized during his campaign for Free Trade that a more difficult task lay beyond, in the freeing of the land. The natural result of greater trade activity is increased demand for land, and higher rents; that is, prosperity for landlords and a continuing problem of poverty and social unrest. Equal freedom in the use of land is a dream that is scarcely within the range of practical politics at the present time in the United States, though it is impossible to keep it out of political discussion in England since Lloyd

George's spectacular campaign and abortive legislation of twenty odd years ago.

But the ascendency of Socialism over *Laissez-faire* is reflected in the timid approach to the freeing of trade and the freeing of land in Mr. Snowden's programme as outlined in his Budget speech. The exigencies of paternalistic schemes for mitigating the effects of poverty stayed the hand of the dauntless Chancellor of the Exchequer and induced him to postpone the hour for unshackling production and trade to a very uncertain future, considering the terms on which the Labor party holds office. The conflict between Socialistic and individualistic ideas was also present in the London speech of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, who must have astonished the members of the Royal Society of Arts by joining his encomiums of Richard Cobden with praise of Alexander Hamilton and that quaint galaxy of Protectionists, Garfield, Blaine and McKinley!

It is something, however, if the versatile President of Columbia University, in company with so many members of his faculty, is beginning to catch up with Cobden, and has discovered that "individuals, corporations, organizations, interests and sections" use "the policy of tariff taxation . . . for their own interests, which they enthusiastically identify with those of the larger public." In another fifty years they (or their successors) may catch up with Henry George and come out for equality of opportunity in the exploitation of the raw materials of nature as well as for untramelled trade and intercourse irrespective of national boundaries.

FRANK W. GARRISON

Prison Life in Hungary*

[From our Special Correspondent]

This is a large well-built Provincial Prison, part of which was originally erected as an educational institution in the reign of Maria Therese, and the modern part in 1890. It has the usual progressive system. Prisoners on entrance may remain in single cells according to the length of the sentence, but not for more than one year. Then comes the next stage where prisoners live, six, eight, ten or more in communal cells, and are working in large workshops. In the third stage they may go outside the prison to work and live on a farm in a pavilion. In cases where the conduct is very good, they may go home before the expiration of the sentence and only be under local police supervision.

On the day of my visit there were 737 prisoners, but there are places for 850. I visited the hospital and operating-rooms, and found the doctor and male nurses on duty. Serious cases of illness go to the local hospital. Everything seemed adequate for a small hospital dispensary. Thirty-two prisoners were under inspection for slight illnesses. There was a special ward for the T. B. cases, and I saw about twelve patients.

The whole building was very clean and the dietary was such as is usual in prisons. The monotony of the food is distasteful, and I told of the plan at Wormwood Scrubs Prison in England where the dietary is made out for a month, but prisoners never know beforehand what the dietary is to be until it is actually served.

I saw the whole body of prisoners returning from the workshops and was struck by their general health. The prisoners have visits and letters every three months, but I found that many prisoners received extra visits and letters by approval of the governor. Two leading political prisoners about whom the Manchester *Guardian* had written an article had received nine visits during 1929. I was allowed to see the two leading hunger-strikers, and though my visit took place about six weeks after the strike began, I found the two men in good health. They were at present under strict punishment though one was doing office work, but I learned that they received books and one admitted he had French, English, German and Russian literature. In the library were some 6,000 volumes, and as is usual in prison libraries, many were old fashioned but I also saw works of an educational nature and quite a number of English volumes.

Lectures are given in a large hall, occasionally with a movie, and on Sunday afternoons prisoners' concerts are held at times, songs with organ music.

I felt some of the older punishment cells should be closed and the rest modernized. In many cells or rooms I was pleased to see plants in the windows and private photos and small personal belongings.

The cells were well-heated by central hot-water pipes. The prisoners who work an eight hours' day have one hour's recreation daily in a large exercise-yard which evidently had been gay with flowers during the year. A part of the day invalids sit out in the exercise yard and the day of my visit being very sunny and warm many men on the sick list or from the hospital were enjoying the sunshine.

Perhaps the best part of the Vacz Prison is the industrial side. Here men may learn useful trades. The carpentry department is very large and articles of furniture are made and sold to outside firms.

The state printing is largely done here and men can learn this trade very efficiently as all kinds of modern machinery are in use. There are the usual bootmaking, tailoring, baking and weaving departments, but the greatest industry is that of button making. The latest American machines are in use. I saw the actual stone-nut imported from America, and then watched the various processes and machines until the finished button was made and ready for export. The men in all departments seemed interested in their work and one felt like being in an outside factory. The men may earn money for themselves or send it to their families. One striking feature connected with this industrial side might well be carried out in prisons in other lands. When a prisoner enters he may fill in a printed form that he will engage in one or another trade and in due course take an examination and obtain a certificate showing his fitness to work in that branch of industry.

A small commission from the town of Vacz comes in, for instance, on a certain day from the local branch

*This article has great importance for Americans as an authoritative report of prison conditions in Europe today.—Editor.

of printers. They examine the candidates for a printer's certificate of efficiency. If the candidate is successful he is given a printed certificate denoting his trade, signed by the commission. Nothing whatever is put in the certificate that the man had been in prison. This is of value to the man in finding employment on his release.

I saw several prisoners who had passed the examinations in printing, button-making, etc., and one saw the deep joy and genuine pride with which they showed me this proof of their reformed life and their capability of returning to the life of an ordinary citizen in the industrial world.

The prison has a large vineyard and fruit and vegetable garden of forty-four acres about a mile from the prison. This I visited and found the prisoners happy at work on the land, and especially those amongst the farm animals as pigs and cows. The large farm of one hundred and fifty-six acres is a long distance from the prison and there the prisoners working on the land remain the whole season living in a large pavilion and forming a real farm colony.

In a large garden connected with the prison there is built and almost completed a wonderful new prison hospital which will surely be the first of its kind in Europe. There is central heating and each ward has a bathroom and lavatory and a door leading to the verandah. It is built on the new Sarrason system, thus enabling the wards and balconies to obtain the maximum of sunshine light and air. The wards are only on one side of the building and all these face the South. Close by flows the Danube and there is a view over the distant country. The ground floor will contain thirty to forty beds in small wards for the ordinary hospital cases. On the upper part is the special T. B. hospital which is built to provide sanatorium treatment for all the serious T. B. prisoners from the whole of the Hungarian prisons. There are seventy or more beds.

This new institution is fitted up on the most up to date style inside and outside. It will be opened in the spring and I hope to write further about the special occasion. The modern world is everywhere turning its thoughts to the question of prisons and prisoners and now instead of merely punishing the wrongdoers there is a desire for redemption and for fitting the prisoner for future citizenship with some trade in his hands. The physiological and psychological study of prisoners is being carried on; early training, education and home, moral and religious influences are duly taken into consideration but while the present system of prisons remains in force, the Vacz prison can at least feel it does all that is possible to give the prisoner useful work when there and to fit them for earning a living on release.

FREDERICK HANKINSON.

Budapest, Hungary.

The Study Table

Religio Hominis Scientiae

In this little tract,* which consists only of ninety-one rather small pages, Professor Eddington has undertaken the reconciliation of science and religion in a manner which compels attention. The book is the Swarthmore Lecture delivered before the London Society of Friends on the occasion of the 1929 Yearly Meeting. These lectures are designed to impart to the Friends themselves new light on their message and mission, and to bring before the public the aims and fundamental principles of the Friends. The 1929 Swarthmore Lecture has gone forth to a far wider circle than that of the Quakers; and, if what Professor Eddington has set forth therein is the spirit that is in the Society of Friends, then its sweet reasonableness and its accommodation to the spirit of the age should compel the admiration of all men everywhere for the Society in whose fellowship he is enrolled.

The book begins with a summary of the process of evolution. First there was chaos—vast, primitive, boundless yet no infinite chaos; the chaos of a world without form and almost void. "In the beginning was vastness, solitude and the deepest night. Darkness was upon the face of the deep, for as yet there was no light." Then millions of years elapsed, and the void became populated with island universes. And time went on, and the force of gravitation subdivided the island universes. Star clusters and then stars were separated by the power of gravitation. Then one day, a star accidentally collided into the sun, and great jets of matter spouted forth therefrom. The result is our solar system, and on one of its planets we live and move and have our being. Stars have great heat—ten million degrees is a common temperature; and a planet with cool temperature seems an afterthought—one of nature's little experiments. Out of primitive chaos came ninety-two different kinds of matter, chemical elements we call them. How they came to be, we know very little. And from that point forth, the story goes over into the realm of biology, and the crown of the process is man.

It is with man's relation to the Unseen World that Professor Eddington is concerned. Men today are inclined to accept the scientific epic of creation as exhibiting the grandeur of God more truly than the account we have in the First Chapter of Genesis. Yet science grows restive under the attempts of theologians to restate the creation story in the term of evolution. An astronomer is a little timid of giving forth in his conclusions in the words of the Psalmist: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth forth his handiwork." That is a little too suggestive of forcing the universe to fit into a cosmology settled by the fiat of revelation. To Eddington, the story of the theophany of Elijah is far more illuminating. The scientist has been passing before him in review the processes of meteorology, seismology, physics even as the earthquake, the wind and the fire passed before Elijah: God was not in them. But he hears, as did Elijah, the still, small voice which asks, "What doest thou here, Elijah?" And, like Elijah, we are challenged with the same question: "Why are we here?—What is it all about?"

Here, for a moment, we must pause with Eddington, and glance at the problem of the dualism between spirit and matter. On one side, we have consciousness; on

*Science and the Unseen World, by Arthur Stanley Eddington. Published by the Macmillan Company. $1.25.

the other a material brain. Crude materialism has passed out of the purview of science; it is a relic of the time when men sought to explain phenomena by constructing mechanical models. Modern physics has reached the point where man acknowledges limitations of words to explain the ultimate stuff to which atoms and electrons can be reduced. These words are symbols and we work with symbols. Thus,

"penetrating as deeply as we can by the methods of physical investigation into the nature of a human being we reach only symbolic description. Far from attempting to dogmatize as to the nature of the reality thus symbolized, physics most strongly insists that its methods do not penetrate behind the symbolism. Surely then that mental and spiritual nature of ourselves, known in our minds by an intimate contact transcending the methods of physics, supplies just that interpretation of the symbols which science is admittedly unable to give. It is just because we have a real and not merely a symbolic knowledge of our own nature that our nature seems so mysterious; we reject as inadequate that merely symbolic description which is good enough for dealing with chairs and tables and physical agencies that affect us only by remote communication.

In comparing the certainty of things spiritual and things temporal, let us not forget this—Mind is the first and most direct thing in our experience; all else is remote inference."

So, at the bottom of all things, we reach symbols. But, because there is a background for the symbols, the world is a very real concern. The background is that unknown for which in mathematics we use the symbol x. With this background, we have assured touch.

How does experience lighten up the dark places in the background? Here we see possible conflict between science and religion. Science deals with experience. If religion does not deal with experience, then it is not religion—certainly, for Eddington it is not the religion to be found in the Society of Friends. Experience is the interaction of ourselves with our environment. It is more than the interpretation of sense-impressions. Otherwise we should not attempt to compare sense-impression with sense-impression. Nor should we be tempted to query, "What is it all about?" So science is questing to understand the phenomena of experience. "As truly as the mystic, the scientist is following a light; and it is not a false or an inferior light."

In a very real way, the scientist and the mystic are as one. Both following the Inner Light after truth, both facing the hard facts of experience, though concededly in divers manners, are seeking a transcendent truth. At times there come to both the feeling that they are very, very nigh unto reality. And for Eddington the religious experience is something which leads toward that reality.

Yet reality is not concreteness. That type of materialism which would reduce the whole cosmic process to matter is quite dead. None the less, other philosophies strive to reproduce the concreteness of materialism: for them everything is reducible to the operations of natural law, which, in their turn, are reducible to mathematical equations. By modern materialism we mean nothing else than the general dominance of scientific law. Its charm is its simplicity, and its end is one kind of perfection. But can natural law operate in infinity? Behind the symbols it cannot go, and its perfection is only an end of symbolic linkage. Thus in materialism we have a kind of unity between the symbols and their background; but in natural law we will not find the last word. We must recognize once for all the limitations thereof. So we come upon the distinction between what Professor Seth calls the "is-ness" of a thing, and the "ought-to-be-ness" of a thing. To Eddington, the "ought-to-be-ness" is vital. In this category comes religion, and, no matter how efficacious natural law may become, it cannot make an end of religion.

The soul craves assurance that in reaching out after the unseen world it is not following an illusion. Man wants security of one sort or another. In sum, the question boils down to the form, "Does God exist?" Here science has no sure answer: half of the scientific world, roughly, would affirm that God exists; the other half would deny it. And it may well be that both sides are saying the same thing, although their words seem to mean something entirely different. What does the word "exist" mean? The whole dialectic of theism against atheism seems to be so much sound and fury. At the most, all you get, outside of the old-fashioned concept of God as an oriental potentate is a statement that behind the whole process is Something. Or else you might get an admission that it is conceivable that there might be something. Or, again, you may get some sort of pantheism. The substitution of the word "nature" for the word "God" is not going to affect religion mightily. Thus the important thing is not a theological statement about an existence, but "a conviction of the revelation of the supreme God." This revelation is implicit in the indwelling of the divine spirit in the mind of man. And none of this warrants a reconstruction of religion on the basis of scientific method.

The foundation of science, Eddington holds, in so far as it concerns the visible universe, is a determination to use our eyes. When we set out to survey the unseen world, we must begin the process with a like determination. We shall not have gone very far when we shall be obliged, in one way or another, to take account of a personal God. Most of us nowadays are afraid of the phrase—it is far too suggestive of the picture the medieval painters left us. Instead we find ourselves using such terms as "omnipotent force" or "fourth dimension." Yet in our search for terms sufficiently vague, we employ words that convey something very precise and well defined. On the other hand, if Eddington understands his psychology aright, the word "person" might have just that requisite vagueness. It is the very essence of the unseen world that it should be dominated by a personality. And now we reach the point of conflict, between personality and scientific analysis. Can the spiritual realm submit itself to analysis? Science has an important role, even here; but it is not the whole of the cast of characters. This incompleteness of view, both on the part of the adherents of science, and on the part of those who profess and call themselves believers, is what causes the difficulty. Both sides can see only part of the process, and both sides are equally willing to call in a whole host of irrelevances to bolster up their cases. The result is that the poor "man in the street" finds himself utterly at sea in a maze of learning, because both of the disputants are seeking to formulate a creed rather than to ponder an experience.

In the early days of Quakerism, there lived and worked a group of people who called themselves Seekers. That is a name which should bring great joy to those of a scientific temperament. The spirit of seeking is that which will prevail in religion; it is the personification of the spirit of adventure. It does not disparage finding; but the finder has an assurance which the seeker can well do without. After all most

findings are transitory affairs! How true is that in the realm of science! Never can the true spirit of science or religion be apprehended, much less comprehended, unless seeking is placed in the forefront. The finding presupposes an authoritative statement to be set down concerning that which is found. In religion such a statement is called a creed. Now creeds are always obstacles to seeking, and the religion which can make shift to get along without a creed holds out a welcoming hand to the scientist. Still

Rejection of creed is not inconsistent with being possessed by a living belief. We have no creed in science, but we are not lukewarm about our beliefs. The belief is not at all that the knowledge of the universe that we hold so enthusiastically will survive to the letter; but a sureness that we are on the road. If our so-called facts are changing shadows, they are shadows cast by the light of constant truth. So too in religion we are repelled by that constant theological doctrine which has settled for all generations just how the spiritual world is worked. . . . Religion for the conscientious seeker is not all a matter of doubt and self-questionings. There is a kind of sureness which is very different from cocksureness.

Thus does Professor Eddington give an account of the faith that lies in him. Neither in religion nor science does he find a faith once for all delivered to the saints. Both in religion, and in science, does he find a body of humble workers, reverently adding to the sum of the world's knowledge, each in his way sharing in the research magnificent. There, somewhere behind the symbols which we perceive darkly, lies the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. That city is the place where light dwells, and out of our darkness Mr. Eddington would have us join hands with those who seek Him in whose light we shall see light. The road is not easy, but *Science and the Unseen World offer a clear and unmistakable beacon to lighten our way.*

ALFRED ARTYN GROSS.

Correspondence

The Criminal Syndicalism Law Again

Editor of UNITY:

After a trial lasting three weeks in the Superior Court of Imperial County, California, nine men have been convicted on three counts of violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law, and face terms in San Quentin of from three to forty-two years each. This is the first time in six years that the C. S. law has been invoked in this state to curb the activities of the so-called "Reds." The real "crime" that these men committed was attempting to organize the cantaloupe workers into a Trade Union Unity League branch—an Agricultural Workers' Industrial League.

In January last attempts were made to form a union of the lettuce workers of the Valley, but they failed due to the vigilance of the sheriff, Charles L. Gillette, and his deputies, who jailed the leaders on charges of vagrancy and disturbing the peace. This is the sheriff, by the way, who assaulted me when I intimated that the men he was holding in jail had done nothing worthy of arrest. I brought charges of assault and battery against him in justice's court and he was fined $150. He appealed the case to the Superior Court.

Sheriff Gillette and the police of Brawley and El Centro have declared a moratorium on free speech and free assembly in the Valley. They stationed their men around the entrance of a hall where the International Labor Defense had advertised a meeting recently, and allowed no one to enter.

Altogether a serious situation confronts us in Southern California. This trial may mean the signal for a revival of the Criminal Syndicalism law in many places. We must resist vigorously the conviction of these men. Their cases must be carried to the higher courts and publicity given what has occurred. That means money is needed. Will to you who care for the preservation of our freedom send us contributions to carry on the fight we are waging? Make the checks generous, please, and send them to the American Civil Liberties Union, Southern California Branch, 1022 California Building, Los Angeles, California.

CLINTON J. TAFT,
Director, Southern California Branch American Civil Liberties Union.
Los Angeles, Cal.

Next Move to Abolish War—the American Way

Editor of UNITY:

Our Constitution was called by Gladstone the "most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." One of its wisest provisions is the possibility of amendment. As a result, nineteen amendments have been added since 1791, each registering the will of the people, having first been agreed to by two-thirds of each House of Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

In the judgment of many citizens, the hour has struck when an amendment should be adopted, providing that not one cent shall be spent for war or on preparations for war, "within or without the United States," nor shall any funds be raised, appropriated or expended for such purpose. The naval conference of London, whatever its results, is a disappointment, revealing to the nations their helplessness, as long as they stay on a war basis. Peace was almost lost sight of.

Such an amendment was introduced in the 69th Congress by Senator Lynn J. Frazier, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, April 23, 1926. Senator Frazier reintroduced it in the 70th and 71st Congresses, in the latter it being known as Senate Joint Resolution 45.

Citizens who are urging this amendment believe that war is out of date, that war is an universal curse, that any nation that absolutely abolished its war machinery would be more secure, besides winning the everlasting friendship and gratitude of mankind. They believe that peace sentiment will never be sufficiently and effectively reenforced until armaments in the heavens above, the earth beneath and the waters under the earth are eliminated. They believe themselves also to be moved by the highest patriotism.

This amendment is now in the hands of the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee. Of this committee there is a sub-committee, composed of Senators Frederick H. Gillett, Charles S. Deneen and C. C. Dill, which possesses the power to report the amendment back to the full committee. All friends who are interested in the passage of such an amendment should communicate to one of these gentlemen (The Senate, Washington, D. C.) presenting their views and reasons, requesting at the same time, that Resolution 45 be reported to the whole committee, and favorably. Naturally, the sooner this is done the better.

As usual, women are leading in this splendid movement—the Women's Peace Union, 39 Pearl Street, New York City, being in the van. The movement should have the support of everybody. With an amendment in the U. S. Constitution abolishing all armed forces, there would be no need of naval conferences. All destructive energies could be turned into works of construction and friendship. Other nations would quickly and gladly follow. National prosperity would be assured, as well as a future glorious destiny.

It is not denied that such a movement involves risks in the national integrity. Even so, there will be risks in any case. It is contended that the nation that embarks on such a policy would be more secure, and would be certain to be a blessing to mankind, instead of running the risk of being a curse through its armaments. Some day, some nation will have the honor of leading in real disarmament, why not America? So far, America, in her development, has followed great ideals. Why not in disarmament?

Personally, I have an interest in our country reaching back over 300 years; and, I would rejoice to see America embark on this pioneer adventure for humanity.

SYDNEY STRONG.
New York City.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The First Line of Defense

A Summary of 20 Years Civil Rights Struggle for American Negroes

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has carried the cause of the American Negro before the main courts of the United States; the law courts from lowest to highest, and the court of public opinion.

On the first and only organized, persistent fight against the Shame of America, the crime of lynching, the Association has spent $63,610.25.

On legal cases alone, which include six decisive victories before the United States Supreme Court, the Association has spent in the years from 1910 to May 1, 1930, the sum of $89,814.51, this total expenditure on all its legal work being far less than is often spent on a single important legal contest. This legal work of the Association is directed to affirmation of fundamental civil rights affecting not alone Negroes but every citizen of the country. The Negro represents the shock troops in this long struggle for democracy.

Legal and civil rights work is but one phase of the manifold activities of the N. A. A. C. P. Its importance warrants the detailed summary given here of outstanding cases only, together with statements of the cost of getting results. The sums listed apply to expenditures by the National Office. In many cases the Branches have raised and disbursed substantial sums in addition, as well as often themselves carrying legal fights to a conclusion.

1910

Pink Franklin, death sentence commuted to life imprisonment by Governor of South Carolina after intervention by N. A. A. C. P. Cost $410.25.

Thomas Williams, cleared in murder charge after habeas corpus instituted by N. A. A. C. P. in New Jersey. Judge congratulated Association for acquainting ignorant and helpless with their legal rights. $266.10.

1911

Henry Graham, cleared of murder charge in New Jersey.

Death sentences of two Delaware boys commuted to life imprisonment.

1912

Paul Bolin, colored organist, obtained season ticket and $300 damages after exclusion from Palisades Amusement Park, New Jersey.

1913

Coatesville, Pa., lynching investigation, including retention of William J. Burns, eventuated in recommendation from Pennsylvania Governor that city charter be revoked. $2,642.32.

1914

Discriminatory legislation checked in Congress, including anti-intermarriage, segregation and jim-crow bills in District of Columbia and bill making Negroes ineligible for army and navy service.

1915

Grandfather clause, disfranchising Southern Negroes declared unconstitutional by U. S. Supreme Court. Cost of printing Moorfield Storey's brief, $180.

1916

Lynching investigations: Cherokee County, Ga.; Waco, Texas; Gainesville, Fla.; Abbeville, S. C.

1917

Louisville residential segregation ordinance held unconstitutional by U. S. Supreme Court, $1,342.02.

East St. Louis riots investigated, facts published, relief measures organized, legal defense of Negroes furnished. $2,347.25.

Lynching investigations: Memphis and Dyersburg, Tennessee.

24th Infantry: Houston, Texas, riot investigated, clemency asked for colored soldiers sentenced to death, legal defense supplied, and campaign carried on leading to commutation of sentences of last of 67 imprisoned men in 1928. All but one released by 1928.

Extradition of John Johnson from Boston to Virginia blocked on ground fair trial would not be given. $300.

1918

Lynching investigations: Fayetteville, Brookes and Lowndes Counties, and Blackshear, Ga.; Estill Springs, Tenn.

New York State Civil Rights law prepared by N. A. A. C. P. legal committee became law April 13.

1919

Race riots in Washington, Chicago ($3,450), and Phillips County, Arkansas, investigated, facts broadcast and legal defense of innocent victims furnished.

Lynching investigations: Vicksburg and Shubuta, Mississippi; trials of acquitted lynchers, Tuscumbia, Ala.

National conference on lynching held in New York, speakers in Carnegie Hall, including Charles Evans Hughes, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, General John H. Sherburne.

Sergeant Edgar C. Caldwell, condemned to death in Alabama, case carried to U. S. Supreme Court. $965.85.

1920

Duluth, Minn., mobbists prosecuted after lynching 3 colored men, and 13 colored men defended from charges on which lynching had been based. 12 of 13 acquitted and case of 13th, sentenced for rape, appealed. 21 members of mob indicted on first degree murder charges. $1,200 fund raised by Minnesota branches.

1921

Tulsa, Olkahoma, riot investigated and facts published, $3,646.54 raised and expended for relief.

1923

Arkansas Peonage riot victims defended before Supreme Courts of U. S. and Arkansas, 12 freed from death sentences, 67 from life and long term imprisonment. Principle established that trial in court dominated by mob is not due process of law. $14,942.27.

1924

School segregation cases in Indiana, Kansas, Ohio and New Mexico.

1925

Dr. O. H. Sweet, family and 7 friends acquitted in two trials of murder charges rising out of mob segregation attack on his home. $37,849.

Anti-intermarriage bills defeated in Iowa, Michigan and Ohio.

1926

School segregation defeated in Toms River, N. J. $500.

Freedom of press upheld in defense of two colored editors of Louisville, Ky., Messrs. Warley and Cole. $500.

1927

Texas white primary law barring Negroes from Democratic primaries held unconstitutional by U. S. Supreme Court. $2,916.90.

Samuel A. Browne, Staten Island postman, defended in maintaining home against mob violence and threats. $379.25.

Segregated schools fought in Gary, Indiana ($1,325); Atlantic City, N. J. ($211.50), and Douglas, Ariz. ($300).

Two investigations made of peonage conditions brought to light by Mississippi river floods. $872.34.

Coffeyville, Kansas, riot investigated and Negroes in subsequent court action cleared of rape charge which originated trouble, $350.

Murder conviction of Jim Davis, South Carolina, reversed. Man had defended his two daughters from white man. $550.

Anti-intermarriage laws successfully opposed in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey and Rhode Island.

New Orleans, La., segregation law held unconstitutional by U. S. Supreme court. New Orleans branches raised and expended in case $8,182.55.

1928

Residential segregation by property owners' covenant fought in 2 Washington, D. C., cases. $3,329.69 and $1,960.25.

Negro representation on juries in South, question raised in case of Abe Washington, Florida. $268.02.

White primary exclusion of Negroes by parties from ballot, by enabling acts, fought in Texas and Florida. Texas case, $699.24; Florida, $100.

Extradition opposed of Edward Glass from California to Oklahoma and after extradition, legal defense aided. $350. California branches raised $505.50.

Extradition opposed of Samuel Kennedy from Illinois to Georgia. $100.

Jim Crow of interstate passengers contested by Mrs. Blanche Brookins who recovered $2,750 in settlement of Atlantic Coast Line. $100. (Mrs. Brookins refunded $100.)

Miscarriage of justice alleged and fought in case of Thomas Nelson, convicted of murder in Virginia. $100.

1929

Ben Bess, South Carolina farmer, freed from prison after 14 years' confinement of 30-year sentence on white woman's perjured testimony. $300.

Eros, Louisiana: Two white men convicted of brutal murder of two Negro women. $300.

Library segregation abolished by court decision in Charleston, W. Va., public library.

Conviction reversed on appeal of Roy Freeman, of Columbus, O., charged with murder and Freeman acquitted after new trial. $397.

Arkansas Supreme Court for second

time reversed murder conviction of Robert Bell, one of two colored boys sentenced to hang after confession obtained by torture. Compromise accepted of 10-year jail sentence. Pardon asked of Governor. $1,240.

Virginia white primary law, disfranchising Negroes by means of an enabling act giving political parties right to determine qualifications for voting, defeated in Federal District Court. Case appealed to U. S. Supreme Court. Similar cases being fought in Texas, Florida and Arkansas.

Residential segregation by property owners' covenants defeated in Huntington, W. Va. $350.

New trial for Thomas Nelson obtained after his conviction in Virginia of first degree murder. $100.

Saved from life in prison, in Kentucky, Homer Mitchell and Houston Davis, who in second trial charged with shooting white man in quarrel received: Davis acquitted; Mitchell, 4 years. $100.

Excluded from labor union, J. H. Jones, upholsterer, employed for many years until Upholsterers' Union refused to admit him and brought about his discharge, appealed to N. A. A. C. P. which took up matter with A. F. of L. and International Upholsterers' Union.

Convicted on perjured testimony of attack upon a white woman and sentenced in Tennessee to 10 years' imprisonment, Turley Wright was given new trial and acquitted, being released Dec. 11. National office contributed $100.

1930 (to May)

Defeat of Judge Parker: One of the most spectacular struggles the Association ever undertook, resulting in a clean-cut victory, centered in the fight over the confirmation of nomination by President Hoover to U. S. Supreme Court of Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina, who had said in 1920 political speech that Negro's participation in politics was not wanted by the Republican party of North Carolina and was a "source of evil" to both races. The N. A. A. C. P. led a nation-wide fight against confirmation, in which its branches, and many other Negro and white groups and individuals, notably the colored press, took part, procuring a vote of 10 to 6 against Judge Parker in U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee; confirmed by an adverse vote of 41 to 39 of the whole senate. The victory was conceded to be the greatest political demonstration by the Negro since the Civil War. Its importance lay in defending the Supreme Court from a judge who had confessed his opposition to enforcement of 14th and 15th Amendments.

Negro federal prisoner "boarding" projected by the government, for state road work in Chatham County, Georgia, was stopped in its inception by protest of the N. A. A. C. P., and through the co-operation of Sanford Bates, Federal Prisons Superintendent, who arranged that white and colored prisoners together should go to federal camps. Written assurances there would be no discrimination in treatment of colored prisoners were given by the Department of Justice.

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White Plains threats: When two colored doctors who had purchased homes in white residence sections of White Plains, N. Y., received threats following mass meetings, and a fiery cross was burned on grounds of one of them, Dr. Errold Collymore, the N. A. A. C. P. stepped in, conferred with leading citizens, appealed to the press, and threatened appeal to Gov. Roosevelt for troopers. Order was quickly restored.

White police officer convicted in New Orleans of murder for shooting young colored girl who resisted his advances. N. A. A. C. P. attorneys assisted district attorney in prosecution.

Colored Gold Star Mothers under N. A. A. C. P. leadership protested segregation on journey to European war graves and their petitions declining to go on Jim Crow trip were forwarded to President Hoover.

A Negro acquitted of rape in Monroe, Louisiana, was first such instance in history of Louisiana and other southern states' courts. Rape charge has usually brought lynching, legal or other. $125.

U. S. Supreme Court upheld ban of lower courts on Richmond's segregation ordinance. (Richmond v. Deans.)

Other N. A. A. C. P. Achievements

Fought the Klan. Began and kept up a persistent campaign of publicity revealing the true purposes and deeds of the Ku Klux Klan.

Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. Roused and educated public sentiment in America on lynching. Brought about the passage in the House of Representatives, in 1922, by vote of 230 to 119, of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, resulting in sharp decrease in number of recorded mob murders.

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Has encouraged creative achievement of American Negroes and called attention to it of the entire world, by annual award and presentation of Spingarn Medal and of prizes for writing and draftsmanship by *Crisis.*

Has maintained a publicity service reaching the principal magazines, leading news services including Associated Press, and leading daily newspapers of the U. S., as well as newspapers and magazines in Europe and Asia. A regular weekly press service goes to 250 colored editors acquainting them with developments important to colored people.

N. A. A. C. P. investigation called national attention to abuses of American seizure and administration of black republic of Haiti.

More than 3,000 large public meetings as well as innumerable smaller ones have been held under the auspices of the Association.

Has organized colored and white citizens in 44 States and in more than 350 branches to work for improved race relations.

Has conducted *"The Crisis,"* the only self-supporting propaganda magazine in America, with international circulation.